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ABSTRACT

The document reports on a survey of books, nursery rhymes, coloring books, clothing, television programs, records, and toys which tend to stereotype American Indians in the minds of preschool children. Also included are interviews with parents of preschool children and with nursery school teachers, the results of which indicate that the preschool child is exposed to material that does create a negative image of the American Indian. A selected annotated bibliography for preschool children (aged 2-5) includes books which could be effective in counteracting the detrimental effects of the stereotypical activities presently being experienced by young children. (LS)

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THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD'S IMAGE OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

NATAM IX

by

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Office of Community Programs
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs
Training of Teacher Trainers Program
College of Education
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A Note on the First NATAM Curriculum Series

During the Spring of 1970, a special University of Minnesota course in Indian education was offered through the College of Education and the General Extension Division to public school teachers in the school system of Columbia Heights, a Minneapolis suburb. This course--which was taught in Columbia Heights--was arranged and specially designed as a result of a request from Columbia Heights school officials and teachers to Mr. Gene Eckstein, Director of Indian Upward Bound. (Indian Upward Bound is a special Indian education program funded by the U.S. Office of Education, the University of Minnesota, and the Minneapolis Public Schools. It operates at two inner-city Minneapolis junior high schools, and functions under the control of an all-Indian board of directors.) In addition to the usual on-campus course requirements, such as reading, enrollees were given special lectures by invited Indians in addition to the person responsible for accreditation, Dr. Arthur Harkins. Lecturers were compensated for their contributions by a special fee paid by the course enrollees. A complete listing of the lecture sessions follows:

April 1, 1970	Mr. Charles Buckanaga (Chippewa) "Indian Americans and United States History" Mr. Buckanaga presented a brief resume of the relationship of the American Indian and the in-coming European Cultures. He also discussed a three-dimensional view of historical data, emphasizing the development of gradual feelings toward and the eventual end result of the native Americans.
April 8, 1970	Mr. Roger Buffalohead (Ponca) "Urban Indian" Mr. Buffalohead discussed the conflicts and problems confronting the Indian in the migration to the Urban setting.
April 15, 1970	Lecture on Urban Indians Dr. Arthur Harkins - University of Minnesota

April 15, 1970	Gene Eckstein (Chippewa) "Cultural Conflict and Change." Mr. Eckstein discussed the changing cultures of the Indian American and the problems encountered.
April 22, 1970	G. William Craig (Mohawk) "Treaties and Reservations." Treaties by the United States and American Indian Nations. The out growth of reservations and their influences on the American Indian.
April 29, 1970	Lecture H Ed. III Dr. Arthur Harkins
May 6, 1970	Gene Eckstein (Chippewa) The psychological and sociological challenges of the Indian American citizen in the transition from the Indian reservation to an urban area.
May 13, 1970	Lecture H Ed. III Dr. Arthur Harkins
May 20, 1970	Mr. Will Antell (Chippewa) "Indian Educational Conflicts" Director of Indian Education in Minnesota, Mr. Antell presented the challenges of the teacher in Indian Education, together with their relationship to the Indian student, Indian family and Indian community.
May 29, 1970	Lecture H Ed. III Dr. Arthur Harkins Comments from the class - final examination.

As a course requirement, each teacher taking the course for credit authored a curriculum unit for the grade level or subject area which he or she was actively teaching. The best of these units - a total of nineteen - were selected, and the over-all quality was judged to be good enough to warrant wider distribution. It was felt that the units were a good example of what professional teachers can do--after minimal preparation, that the units filled an immediate need for the enrolled teachers for curriculum material about Indian Americans, and that they served as an opportunity to test a staff development model. The units were endorsed by a special motion of the Indian Upward Bound Board of Directors.

From Indian Upward Bound Board metting--Thursday, January 7, 1971.

Certain people are asking that the curriculum guide of the NATAM series by taken from school teachings. There was discussion on this and it was suggested instead of criticizing the writing make suggestions on how to better them. Gert Buckanaga made a motion that we support the experimental curriculum guides. Seconded by Winifred Jourdain. Motion carried.

To accomplish distribution, the units were typed on stencils, mimeographed, assembled and covered. Costs were shared by the University's Training Center for Community Programs and the Training of Teacher Trainers Program of the College of Education. The units were then distributed throughout the state by shop stewards of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers, an AFT affiliate. The entirety of these distribution costs were borne by MFT.

A new NATAM series is currently being prepared. It will focus upon contemporary reservation and migrated Native Americans.

The Coordinators
May, 1971

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I. Introduction

Even before American children reach the age of five, they have absorbed a variety of influences which have helped to formulate a negative image of American Indians. This image is constructed from apparently innocent sources - toys, picture books, coloring books, wearing apparel, nursery rhymes, television programs, cartoons and commercials. Because preschool children are usually not yet educated in a formal environment, their attitudes are shaped in a comparatively random and subtle fashion. Nevertheless, according to research done by many social scientists, the development of racial prejudice may begin at a very young age. The exact age differs according to opinion.

Many a mother sings, "One little, two little, three little Indians" to her skipping toddler, clapping her hands in rhythm often oblivious to the fact that each word is digested by her child and contributes to the inevitable image of the Indian as something strange, something humorous, something to be derided. Even the much-lauded preschool television program, shown on National Educational Television, "Sesame Street," which is designed specifically for the urban child, uses the "Ten little Indians" rhyme in its number-teaching sequences.

It is difficult to find a picture dictionary aimed at two to four year olds which does not contain a drawing of a grinning Indian with a tomahawk and warbonnet representing a word to be learned that begins with the letter "I", just as "Apple" begins with "A" and "Pie" begins with "P".

The game of cowboys and Indians is more convincing if Johnny has his own supply of play feathers, tomahawk and hatchet. Most dime stores carry a full supply of make-believe Indian war regalia.

Department stores and catalogue houses desplay complete lines of clothing, bedspreads and furniture designed for small children which depict redskinned faces or figures - supposedly as comic and cute as the baby lions and dogs that are sometimes shown in accompaniment.

Toddlers' sleeper pajamas are frequently dotted with Indian figures. The well-known clothing manufacturer Carter's ran an ad in the spring 1970 issue of The New York Times Magazine showing "The Indian Littles Collection." In response to an inquiry regarding the prejudicial nature of such clothing, the president Lyndall F. Carter replied, "We would not want to degrade the American Indian in any way, shape or manner. We think he should be looked up to for his many fine qualities, including his bravery, his vast knowledge of nature and his reputation as a mighty hunter..."

Adults such as Mr. Carter whose own stereotypical views of Native American require re-education, unfortunately are often involved in perpetuating a stereotype without even being conscious of it. Infants, toddlers and nursery school children are already filled with colorful mind sets of American Indians before they enter schools.

An interview with one local nursery school teacher in a mostly white middle-income neighborhood revealed that almost without exception her charges have entered school with pre-conceived notions of Indians. As she pointed out, a preschool child usually cannot differentiate between history and the present. When Thanksgiving time rolls around, she attempts to explain that Indians were here first and then the White man came over. However, they have no alternate concept of what an Indian is today. So, she reports, she has "tried to eliminate the subject entirely." (Full interviews with nursery school teachers can be found in Appendix J).

This paper will attempt to survey all the above-mentioned sources of preschool experience. It will include interviews with several parents of preschool children, most of whom know few if any Indians. An effort will be made to determine what methods could be effective in counteracting the detrimental effects of such experiences and will provide an annotated bibliography of preschool books which are considered appropriate for broadening a preschool child's view of the Indian.

II. Books

One of the most tangible and long-lasting of a child's lingering memories is his early readers and books. It would be close to impossible to single-handedly provide a complete survey of preschool literature because there are thousands of books on the market. However, a brief survey of readily available dictionaries and readers clearly shows that the Indian image as it is most often presented is one of violence, war and stupidity. There are many exceptions, of course; many of these will be mentioned in my bibliography. However, in my opinion, the stereotypical presentation the Indian in feathers and tipis is far more common than a more realistic presentation. Some of the most popular authors and illustrators of preschool literature such as Dr. Suess and Richard Scarry are guilty of promoting racial stereotypes.

One book entitled Let's Play Indian, story and pictures by Madye Lee Chastain, New York: Wonder Books, Inc., 1950, is a typical example of the extent to which American children are taught and encouraged to develop stereotypes. It begins:

> All little boys and girls want to be something special when they grow up. Tommy wants to be a fireman and wear a red hat... But when Susie grows up, she wants to be an Indian! And the more she is told to sit quietly and to keep her pinafore clean - And to not step in puddles - The more she wants to be an Indian! Not a quiet well-behaved Indian either. She wants to be a whooping, painted, war-dancing Indian with beads and feathers and tomahawks!... ...One day, Miss Dillingway, Susie's teacher said, 'Children...we are going to have a Thanksgiving play. Some of you will appear as Pilgrims, and some of you will appear as Indians....Susie...saw herself in a great warbonnet with feathers and beads. She saw herself with a fierce scowl on her face. (Later Susie gets a chance to be an Indian in the play). She just ran out on the stage whooping and yelling and waving her tomahawk! Then she went into a war dance and stomped all around the Pilgrims! The faster she danced, the louder she whooped until she sounded like a tribe of Indians on the warpath...Then she heard all the mothers and fathers roaring with laughter and clapping their hands as hard as they could...'Well,' said Miss Dillingway, All I have to say is our next play will be a Christmas play. There will be no Indians in that...'

In this story, there are illustrations of a blonde Susie grinning in ectasy in her painted face and feathered tresses. The pink-skinned parents in the audience are shown clapping gleefully as Susie gallops around the stage looking foolish. The child who hears and knows this story is taught that it is very funny to dance and "war whoop" Indian style. Nothing is mentioned about traditions or ceremonies in relation to Indian dances. No context is given for acting warlike. It is something simply associated with Indianness which children pick up and imitate because it is "fun." The effects of such play on Indian children must be quite different. Some might feel a sense of humiliation at being rediculed and passed off in such a light-handed manner. The ending of the story Let's Play Indians stated there would be no Indians in the Christmas play. I wonder how a teacher in a school where there are Indian children would accomplish that?

The following further examples have been compiled alphabetically and are included for the purpose of showing the range of types of books that do more harm than good:

Anglund, Joan Walsh, Little Cowboy, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1959.

> Joan Walsh Anglund is a highly popular illustrator and author. Her books are relatively inexpensive and are purchased by adults as well as children. They include Spring is a Time of Innocence, A Friend is Someone Who Likes You, Love is a Special Way of Feeling. Little Cowboy is about a little boy who dreams of being a cowboy. The illustrations of his imaginary experiences are in red and his figure is in black. The following lines and accompanying illustrations are considered to be negative in their emphasis: "He was strong and brave. He was not afraid of coyotes. He was not afraid of Indians...He would hunt wild Indians that might be in the territory..."

Beatty, Hetty Burlingame, Little Owl Indian, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1951.

> This book is on various recommended reading booklists including one compiled by the Association for Childhood Education International. It is not overtly prejudicial in its content, but it presents a stereotype of the Indian as a nature-lover and a friend to all animals. There are other kinds of books which relate more factually Indians in a historical or contemporary frame. The latter are preferable.

Benchley, Nathaniel, Red Fox and His Canoe, ill. by Arnold Lobel, New York: Harper and Row, 1955.

This is about a little Indian boy, Red Fox, and his adventures with a canoe which as the bookjacket states is "so droll that young readers will laugh again and again as they return to its pages." The boy's mother and father dress in fringed buckskins and full length warbonnets during their everyday activities. Their dialogue is contemporary slang. Harmless enough if other stories with a more genuine flavor were equally amusing or if what war once a "happy" culture were so still. But, to present an Indian family as something slapstick as is done in this text is unfair to both Indian and non-Indian children.

Friskey, Margaret, Indian Two Feet and His Eagle Feather, Chicago: Children's Press, 1967.

The opening line is, "There was a little Indian with a feather in his hair...". THe image of Indians with feathers has been so overdone as to be largely inaccurate and misleading.

Friskey, Margaret, Indian Two Feet and his Horse, Chicago: Children's Press, 1959.

All the illustrations show Indians in war costumes, spears, warbonnets, whooping around a fire and simultaneously smoking a peace pipe. Although the author may not have been intentionally disrespectful, her treatment of Indians can be considered to be stereotypical.

Hader, Berta de Elmer, Mighty Hunter, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1943.

This is a story about a young Indian boy who goes out hunting and almost gets eaten by a bear and decides to go to school instead. What kind of message does this convey to a white child?

Hartman, Virginia, I Can Do Anything Almost, New York: Wonder Books, 1963.

The illustrations in this story about a small boy show him dressed in feathers, sitting cross-legged with blankets around him in a backyard tipi. There is nothing inherently wrong with playing "Indian" but why is it that children don't play "Negro" or "Jew" and if they did what would that mean?

Syd Hoff, Little Chief, from the I Can Read Series, New York: Harper and Row, 1961.

> This is perhaps one of the more ridiculous and improbable and even degrading books about a small boy named Little Chief who goes out to play alone and encounters a wagon train full of friendly smiling blond white folk whose children are friendly to him and teach him their games. He in turn teaches them bird calls and rain dances (which are ineffectual therefore making him look silly). When Little Chief single-handedly stops a herd of buffalo from stampeding the white children, the people are grateful forever and decide to stay in the "green valley." The Little Chief's smiling final reply is, "I am glad. We will be good friends." What a fairy tale.

Moon, Grace and Carl, One Little Indian, ill. by Don Perceval, Chicago: Albert Whitman and Company, 1957.

> The authors and the illustrator take pride in the fact that they "spent a great deal of time among Indians." One of the paragraphs reads, "He (the Indian boy) lives in a different kind of house from the one some children live in. His clothes are not like theirs. Almost all of the things he does are different things." The rest of the story describes a little boy who has his fourth birthday and finds a puppy. He takes the puppy home with him. What is so different about that?

Parish, Peggy, Little Indian, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968.

> The story about a little boy and how he gets his name is innocent enough but the illustrations depict a phony combination of everyday Indian dress of the early 1920s with ceremonial headdresses worn only on special occasions.

Parish, Peggy, Good Hunting Little Indian, ill. by Leonard Weisgard, New York: William R. Scott, Inc., 1962.

> This text is illustrated in a similarly odd fashion. Warbonnets, fringed blankets decorated with pictographs are worn by all the Indians during their normal activities.

Parish, Peggy, Granny and the Indians, ill. by Brinton Turke, Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1969.

In this book, Miss Parish's true feelings and ideas about Indians emerge completely. It is a story about an old woman named Granny who lives alone in the woods and has a gun she uses to "frighten off the Indians." "Granny Guntry walked along a path through the woods. 'Those people...wanting me to move to town. Telling me the Indians are going to get me. Pooh! They won't bother an old lady like me. And I have my gun. Of course it doesn't shoot. But the Indians don't know that.'" Granny is watched constantly for about five pages by "eyes, those Indian eyes. Angry Indian eyes." The story goes on to tell how the Indians warn Granny to leave their food alone in the woods or they will shoot her. They, in turn, leave her a pot of stew meat by her door every day. A real bargain.

To preschool children, Granny may be just like their grandmothers. And if one is to believe that a sense of the past and the present are unable to be discriminated by young children, they might also figure the Indians are real threats to their grandmothers and even to them.

Teichman, Dorothy, My Friend God, New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1956.

This is a story of a small girl and is intended to teach the reader the concept of God. "Kristen is a small girl with four big freckles on the tip of her nose. Sometimes, she is not a little girl at all, but an Indian Chief named Brave Heart...or she is a rabbit with lovely long ears and a twitchy nose..." In other words, being an Indian is a disguise, a masquerade equivalent to pretending you are a rabbit. In this way, children are taught that Indians are not human, but similar to animals, and all this done in a religious context.

Wiseman, B., Morris is a Cowboy, a Policeman and a Baby Sitter, New York: Harper and Row, 1960. From the I Can Read Series.

Morris dresses as a moose and encounters an Indian who says "How!" and who leads him to his encampment of tipis. Morris laughs and says, "Ha-Ha. You live in big ice-cream cones!" This is intended to draw laughs from young readers. Not only is the dress and language ridiculed (or supposed language), but also a traditional form of housing.

It isn't only that Indians are singled out in preschool literature and depicted as something unusual or odd or even ridiculous. It is also that they are depicted inaccurately and incompletely. They are considered an obsolete antiquity, someone or something that always wore warbonnets and

said, "How!" Children who chance to go to powwows become even more convinced of the uniqueness of Indians. Yes, to many small children Indians are rare creatures.

The Indian in literature is also depicted most often in Plains or Woodlands costume and habitat, dressed in strange conglomerations of costumes that are sometimes fictionalized or incongruous in the setting provided. The preschool child builds a picture of an Indian that is so unlike the historical or contemporary Indian that he could not recognize an Indian on the street if he saw one and would not be able to easily associate him with what he has heard and read about. Not only that, if he could make the association, his reactions would likely be negative. "Indians are bad," one child told a mother whom I interviewed. Another said, "Indians make war."

III. Nursery Rhymes and ABCs

Nursery rhymes and ABC dictionaries provide another realm of influence on the preschool child. Some of the more commnn nursery rhymes and ABC types are the following:

Austin, Margot, illustrator, The Very Young Mother Goose, New York: Platt and Munk, 1963.

> "Eena, meena, minah, mo,
> Catch an Indian by his toe,
> If he halloos, let him go,
> Eena, meena, minah, ho,
> O-U-T spells out!"

Barry, Katharina, A is for Anything, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961.

> Under "I" is for "Indian" is not just the ordinary Indian but a rhyme and an illustration that are quite colorful, "I is for Indians, Sitting Sioux, When he says 'How' that means 'How do you do?'"

DeWitt, Cornelius, The Little Golden ABC, New York: Golden Press, 1968.

The Indian in this dictionary is seen holding a hatchet in one hand and an ice cream cone in the other.

Eastman, P.D., (Dr. Suess), The Cat in the Hat Beginner Book Dictionary, New York: Random House, 1968.

Throughout this beginner dictionary, a small Indian boy with two feathers in his roach haircut is depicted with varying captions. The other figures are white people in contemporary dress or animals.

Hitte, Kathryn, The Golden Shoe Book, ill. by Richard Scarry, New York: Golden Press, 1968.

"Indian braves in Indian shoes steal along the ground. Indian braves in Indian shoes never make a sound." The accompanying illustrations show Indians carrying bows, spears, tomahawks and arrows.

Larrick, Nancy, First ABC, an Educational Picture Book, New York: Platt and Munk, 1959.

Under "I" is for Indian is an illustration of a Blackfoot chief in full costume, perhaps more authentic than many such illustrations, but it is incomplete to stress the historical costume out of context and without additional references to balance the preschool child's conception of Indians.

Seiden, Art, Counting Rhymes, New York: McLoughlin Bros., Inc., 1959.

THe Ten Little Indians rhyme is included with an illustration of ten rows of little red faces, with squared hair cuts, feathers and head bands.

Stevenson, Robert Louis, A Child's Garden of Verses, Ohio: The World Publishing Company, 1946.

R.L. Stevenson is a poet whose ideas and language are representative of his times and environment. However, one of his poems which is still included in anthologies of his work is potentially offensive. The stanza which is repeated in refrain in the poem "Foreign Children" is:

"Little Indian, Sioux and Crow
Little frosty Eskimo
Little Turk or Japanese
O! Don't you wish that you were me?'

Withers, Carl, A Rocket in my Pocket, Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1948.

This collection of verses and short stories is on many recommended reading lists for preschool and early primary readers. It is also on the booklist for parents published by the Federal Security Agency, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau, Publication #304-1949. It includes the following jump-rope jungle:

"Indian, Indian lived in a tent,
Indian, Indian never paid rent,
She borrowed one, She borrowed two,
and passed the rope to Y.O.U."

IV. Coloring Books

Coloring books used by many parents to while away hours at home or on a trip are replete with Indian stereotypes. In addition, the child, by the time he reaches coloring age (3-5) has already got a picture of Indians through other means. So, he is at liberty to exercise his own imagination in coloring feathers and hatchets or a game of cowboys and Indians or an attacking Indian war party. Coloring books serve to reinforce attitudes and concepts, and, in the case of the Indian image, it is an exercise in prejudice.

ChooChoo Ch rlie, Wisconsin, Western Publishing Co., 1970.

This includes a series of drawings of an Indian boy attacking a train, the eventual capture of a little white girl and of Charlie, the train's engineer.

Preschool Practice Workbook, Alphabet Fun, New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1954.

This includes pictures of a papoose with Caucasian features, and moccasins sandwiched between pictures of monkeys and other animals.

Preschool Practice Workbook, Words and Numbers, New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1954.

"I is for Indian" depicts an Indian with a feather, pigtails and trailing breechcloth. There is also a three page spread on the rhyme "Ten Little Indians" using counting forward and backward and showing the little Indian children disappearing and reappearing like magic.

Sheriff Owl Coloring Book, Samuel Lowe Publishing, 1961.

The cover depicts an owl dressed as a sheriff with vultures dressed as Indians hiding behind a large rock, bearing surprised expressions because the arrows which have just left their bows have been drawn to the sheriff with a magnet. Thus, the Indian is outwitted again as the white man cleverly gloats over the Indian's foolishness.

Simple Objects Coloring Book, Wisconsin: Western Publishing Company, Inc., 1961.

It includes a simplified picture of an Indian headdress and a hatchet associating the two of them together.

The Funny Fun Family, Samuel Lowe Publishing Company, 1969.

An Indian appears in breechcloth in profile with legs in the air, fists clenched, hatchet gripped, mouth open in a war whoop - all contributing to the warlike image that children grow accustomed to when identifying Indians.

Whitman Playtime Busy Book, #1131, drawings by IM Vogel, Wisconsin: Western Publishing Company, 1968.

Things to do include "Decorate a tepee," "Make as many words as you can out of reservation," "Help the Indian find the buffalo," "Draw your own totem pole," "Color the Indian mother and child," "Make as many words as you can out of Indian Chief," "Put some feathers in the headdress..." This ironic combination of Indian historical tradition goes overboard in its attempt to associate various things with the Indian - reservation, horse, buffalo, totem pole, tipi. The day of the buffalo was almost over when the horse began being used extensively. Totem poles are found on the Northwest Coast; whereas tipis were found in the Plains. The word reservation, a White invention designed for Indians, is simply a word to be played with, with no implications of the frequently degrading conditions both historically and in the present.

V. Clothing and other miscellaneous items:

Clothing departments have an ample supply of clothing decorated with small Indian figures. They vary from the somewhat innocent to the obscene as indicated by the following sample taken from five stores in the Minneapolis area:

Dayton's, downtown Minneapolis, Carter's mediumweight sleeper #61-101. It is decorated with tiny Indians holding bow and arrow, drum, shown behind a cactus and behind a tipi.

Jack and Jill, Hopkins, Model pajamas, no number given. Indian design, mostly in warbonnets.

Penny's, Hopkins, Toddletime pajamas, no number given. Indian figures are shown in various types of regalia - one with a spear, one with a peace pipe, one behind a tipi, one dancing.

Target, Hopkins, sweatshirt #347-206, sold for $1.47. This sweatshirt was solid white with a very ugly protrait of an Indian face on the hood. The color was mud brown; his eyes protruded grotesquely; his nose was bulbous; he wore pigtails and a feather.

Woolworth's, downtown Minneapolis, Infant's Pat-a-Cake Bib, 59¢. Indians are shown with bows and arrows, drums, behind a cactus and behind a tipi.

One of the more interesting features of much of this clothing (including the Indian Littles Collection mentioned on page 2), is that Indians are usually shown behind rather than in front of various objects such as tipis or cacti. This implies that they are shy or afraid, not proud.

Other items that are designed for young children and depict the Indian in a stereotypical manner are such things as bedspreads, toy chests, wading pools, birthday party invitations, fabric and wallpaper.

VI. Television

Unfortunately, this author does not watch enough television to give a thorough account of what is available to the young viewer or what a child is likely to see on the tube before bedtime or throughout the day. However, Saturday morning cartoons, occasional commercials and even Casey Jones have been recognizably guilty of showing prejudicial material. In a recent cartoon on Casey Jones, Indians were depicted with buck teeth and when they spoke, could only babble sounds. As stated earlier, Sesame Street, a national program geared to the preschool child and of generally excellent quality, includes a counting series on "Ten Little Indians."

Westerns that are on after six o'clock are renowned for their bias against the Indian and bias for the supposedly brave western frontiersman. If young children happen to see these programs, it is likely that they will draw unfair conclusions about the facts of the days of the early settlers.

VII. Records

Reocrds are another source of the preschool child's early experience. Through music, he is taught nursery rhymes and stories that are potentially degrading to the Indian. One visit to Target store in Hopkins turned up three records which emphasize the stereotype.

Peter Pan Records of Knowledge, "In a Little Red Schoolhouse" The record jacket is decorated with a little girl wearing red pig-tails, obviously Caucasian, dressed in moccasins, fringed buckskin dress, and headband. The listener who happens to see the cover may choose to follow the example of the little girl who likes to "play Indian." I couldn't listen to the record, so I do not know the nature of its contents.

Rocking Horse Records, Newark, New Jersey, "Cowboys and Indians." The cover shows white children dressed in cowboy and Indian garb and the list of titles includes "Wild Bill Hickock" and an "Exciting Indian song and story." One can only assume that the contents were not positively oriented toward the Indian.

Walt Disney Records, "Acting out the ABC's," DQ 1223. This record includes the Ten Little Indians rhyme.

VIII. Toys

Among the various toys designed for the very young child are rubber figures, tomahawks, puzzles, Indian headdresses and other objects which encourage the child's acting out his own role in the false legend of cowboys and Indians in which the Indian usually loses but puts up a vicious defense of scalping and butchery that strikes fear into the minds of impressionable children.

It could be argued that the donning of a warbonnet and Indian costume is an experience that a child enjoys and that he makes pleasant associations with being an Indian brave. It is true that children often take pleasure in pretending they are Indians. However, the damage does not lie in the acting out of their fantasies, but in the fact that these fantasies give them false impressions of Indians. Furthermore, they are likely to associate violence and war with being Indian. As a result, their image of Indians is negative. Because negative images contribute to prejudice and prejudice to discrimination, discrimination to injustice, the simple game of cowboys and Indians or pilgrims and Indians has far-reaching ramifications.

B-Line Toys puts out a plastic set of 44 pieces of cowboys and Indians for $1.00. B-Line #1156W, division of Processed Plastic Company, Montgomery, Illinois. Sold at Woolworth's.

Britains, Ltd., 186, King's Cross Road, London, England. England has gotten into the act, too. It packages cowboy and Indian models made of rubber that "swoop and swivel." Among its models are a "brave with tomahawk," "medicine man," and "Indian chief with spear." Sold at Dayton's.

Child Guidance Educational Activity, Child Guidance Products First Play Puzzles: Things we Know, Bronx, New York, 1969. One of the inlays is a puzzle of an Indian chief with a large headdress.

Hong Kong exports a package of cowboys and Indians for 39¢. Sold at Woolworth's.

Lakeside Toys, a local toy manufacturer, produces Tonto's Indian Pony Scout, also Tonto Super Flex Get Up Up Scout which bends and twists into "1000s of action positions," 1967, #8706. Sold at Target, Woolworth's.

Marx Toys has done a little homework, for their rubber movable Apache Geronomo comes with a complete variety of objects including a parfleche. Sold at Woolworth's.

Playskool, puzzle #360-20, shows a little Indian boy and ten little Indians with beads and moccasins all falling down. Sold at Target, Dayton's.

Remco Toys, #7096, a battery-motorized Indian in a boat dressed in a warbonnet, sitting next to a drum holding a spear with a dog in the back of the boat who is also dressed in feathers. Sold at Target, Dayton's.

RW Toys, The Rollin-Wilson Company, Memphis, Tennessee, #210, a complete Indian Chief headdress, arrows and bows. Sold at Target.

IX. Interviews

I was curious to know how many of my acquaintances who had preschool children dealt with the question of the Indian with their own children. Further, I was interested in learning their opinions about whether their children had an image of the Indian, and where they had attained it.

All of these fourteen mothers are white, living in a middle-income neighborhood. Their own backgrounds vary somewhat, but generally they have had few if any experiences with Indians. Their children range in age from two to five years old. The full set of questions and answers is found in the Appendix. My preliminary interpretations of their responses are as follows:

Questions 1, 2 and 3 were directed at finding out whether parents purchase Indian costumes, make believe Indian figures, or tomahawks or hatchets, and if they have any stories or pictures of contemporary Indians among the literature which they read to their child. The first and second question relating to costumes and war tools found half of the group with none in their homes. Half of the group had Indian suits, headdresses, tom toms and tomahawks, or Indian dolls or various kinds. Only two of the mothers had photographs or illustrations of contemporary Indians. None had stories about contemporary Indians. Two said they would like to get some in the future. The rest made no such claim.

Almost all of the mothers admitted to having coloring books or reading books that depict the Indian in war dress. None of the mothers had any clothing decorated with Indian figures.

Question six asked, "Do you think your child has an image of the Indian? What is it? Does he or she know any Indians? Where do you feel this image has been created?" Five of the respondents reported no apparent images. Others said their children associate Indians with tipis, war whoops, tomahawks, cowboys and Indians, drums, feathers or dancing. One reported having had a discussion with her child about Indians as a result of a nursery school experience which was largely negative in its emphasis. The child (a four year old girl) returned to nursery school and corrected her teacher who in turn admitted to the class the child was right. Most of the mothers who responded that their children had a negative image thought it to be the result of television, nursery school, trading posts, powwows, coloring books and reading books.

Question 5A was about whether the child had seen any television programs where the Indian image is presented. Three mothers had seen the "Ten Little Indians" sequence on "Sesame Street." Three reported their children watch westerns. One reported their children watch westerns. One reported having seen her child watching prejudicial Saturday morning cartoons, one offensive cookie commercial and a Casey Jones cartoon which she determined as prejudicial. Of all mothers asked, only one thought her child had seen no television programs relating to the Indian in any way. All of the others said their children had seen some.

Question seven asked if a positive image of the Indian is encouraged at home. Most mothers said the subject does not come up, but if it would a positive image would be encouraged. Most felt it would be artificial and perhaps detrimental to bring the subject of Indians up without any context. Question eight asked about the mother's own images of the Indian - positive and/or negative. Most of the women related to specific positive images except to express sympathy for the present "condition" of Indians. One, however, respected Indian "artwork" and another spoke of "protective families." Negative images included "hanging around Franklin Avenue," "drinking," "laziness," "irresponsibility" and "inability to pick themselves out of poverty."

Question nine returned to the idea about encouraging a positive image in the home but this time asked if a positive image should be fostered. About half of the mothers said "only if the subject comes up." Two replied that Indians should be discussed "not as something different." One thought the historical heritage should be taught. One said it should be discussed if the child were to meet an Indian. Others said Indians should be talked about as "human beings like everyone else."

Question ten asked, "At what age or level do you think children begin developing stereotypes?" One said she "doesn't have the faintest idea." Two said at birth. Four said "very early - before they can talk." Four said by age three or four. One said by kindergarten. One said between six and eight. One replied that her eight year old doesn't have any.

My general impressions of these responses are that most of these parents are in "sympathy" with the "plight" of Indians and are fully aware that stereotypes may begin developing at an early age. However, only two mothers have actually talked with their children about Indians in an attempt to point out how they live today or to relate some positive aspects of their cultural backgrounds. One of these came after her child had seen a powwow and could not figure out why the girl behind the counter at Pipestone was also an Indian. Another came after her child came home from nursery school and reported her experiences and wanted to know why their cleaning lady whom she knew to be Indian was not like the Indians she was learning about in school.

X. Alternatives

None of these mothers have thus far provided any literature or other kinds of materials which would attempt to depict the Indian as he lives today. This could be done simultaneously as the parent presents any kind of literature or materials to her child - in the form of picture books, story books, records. In addition, the cultural heritage of various Indian tribes are presented in numerous collections of legends designed especially for the preschool child.

Although there are no Indians living in the immediate neighborhood, there are other methods that might contribute more to the broadening of a preschool child's understanding of American Indians or of any other minority group. Isolated pockets of white middle-income families such as these are often far from urban or other areas where Indians or other racial minorities might live. Therefore, their children grow up in a racially sterile environment. One could enroll his child in a nursery school which he knows to be socioeconomically diverse. A parent can make an effort to visit various places where he will make contact with different kinds of people from those his child usually associates with.

Children's coloring, reading and television experiences apparently contribute the most to their images of Indians in this case. When they get to school, their preconceived notions may be further confirmed. Thanksgiving plays are common in elementary schools. As one former librarian at Kenwood school told me, Indian children are frequently uncomfortable at Thanksgiving time (to say nothing of the rest of the year). She, in her present nursery school classes, has attempted to counteract the stereotypes she feels most children come to school with. At Thanksgiving time, she displays photographs of contemporary Indians and encourages free discussion and association with the topic of Indians. Then, she attempts to fill out some of the children's narrow views.

A personal commitment to enlarging one's children's points of view is necessary for any mother and it must begin at home in the preschool years, in my opinion. This prompted me to sift through several bibliographies and library shelves in hopes of finding literature which might be suitable for my own preschool child's reading. The selections I have made are thin in the areas of contemporary stories about Indians, especially in geographic areas outside of the Southwest and East. However, the bibliography includes a list of books almost all of which I have personally examined and found satisfactory. Some may be better than others. Among the recommended books are collections of tribal legends. It is thought by many child psychologists that the preschool child cannot discriminate between fact and fancy. Therefore, legends which are of a potentially frightening nature should be avoided. The

reader should be careful in his selection of legends or of any other material presented to his child. On the whole, however, all of these books listed were found adequate in terms of accuracy, fairness, appeal, interest, literary merit and aesthetics. This annotated bibliography can be found in the Appendix.

As Kenneth Clark points out in his book Prejudice and Your Child, the first requirement for the "well-intentioned parent is that he exercise control over expressions of his own racial feelings." Also, "a parent cannot deal constructively with this problem through ignoring or attempting to evade it."[1] THerefore, those parents interviewed who have "not brought the subject up," especially if their children have evidenced stereotypical images of Indians, can be interpreted as avoiding an issue about which their child may need some clarification.

Clark goes on to state that "Since it is the responsibility of parents to provide basic moral and ethical guidance for their children, white parents are almost obliged to deal with the moral and ethical and religious implications of racial prejudice."[2] The age at which this may be opportune depends on the child. However, certain behaviors like war whooping or playing cowboys and Indians can be discouraged. Toys and costumes which prompt such behavior and such associations can be put or thrown away. Clark further suggests that parents attempt to make genuine interracial friendships. However, in the case of these parents interviewed, it might be quite difficult to meet and establish relationships with people whom they rarely meet or have any contact with.

But, Clark's advice about being obliged to deal with racial prejudice at somepoint in a child's upbringing is well-taken. The fact that most white children do encounter prejudice against the Indians, whether it is through the media, or later on in the schools, requires the attention of their parents. Sometimes, a simple explanation will do. Sometimes, seeing live Indians today is likely to clear up certain misconceptions. Sometimes, selecting good reading books or photographs can help.

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1. Clark, Kenneth, Prejudice and Your Child, Boston: Beacon Press, 1963, 127-28.

2. Kenneth Clark, Prejudice and Your Child, 128.

THere is no easy answer for any parent. Each parent must respond to his own child's particular attitudes. He must deal with his child fairly and honestly. But, he can also help to edit some of his child's reading more carefully than he often does. A brief glance through many books and coloring books before purchasing them often tells a parent quite a bit. The effort to control the child's television viewing can also be quite effective in helping to eliminate prejudicial attitudes.

A feeling of general rapport and understanding with one's child is a prerequisite to learning about his feelings with regard to other individuals or groups of people. Some children might fear their parents' wrath were they to describe their honest attitudes. So, at the same time as the parent must help his child to understand the complete total picture of groups of people, he must understand his child as well. He must respect the fact that it is almost inevitable, according to most people interviewed, and I would guess other sources as well, that children learn racial stereotypes. It is not necessarily the child's own fault. But, it does depend a great deal on the child's environment, which is shaped to a large extent by the parent himself.

APPENDIX A

Questions for Parents:

1. Do you have any Indian costumes among your toys at home?

2. Do you have any make believe tomahawks, hatchets or Indian figures?

3. Do you have any stories about contemporary Indians among the literature which you read to your child?

4. Do you have any coloring books, reading books that depict the Indian in war dress?

5. Are any of your children's clothes decorated with Indian figures?

5A. Has your child seen television programs where the Indian image is presented? What are they?

6. Do you think your child has an image of the Indian? What is it? Does he or she know any Indians? How do you feel his image has been created?

7. In your opinion, is a positive image of the Indian encouraged at home? In what ways?

8. Have you a particular image of positive and/or negative qualities of the American Indian? What are they?

9. Do you think a specific image of the Indian should be fostered in the home?

10.. At what age or level do you think children begin developing racial stereotypes?

Question 1: Do you have Indian costumes among your toys at home?

1. No.

2. Yes, a cowboy suit with fringes.

3. Yes, a buckskin outfit and headdress from Sears.

4. No.

5. No.

6. No.

7. Yes, I did have drums and moccasins.

8. No.

9. No.

10. Yes, a paper hat my daughter made in nursery school.

11. Yes, a tom-tom and a headdress.

12. Yes, a headdress and fringes

13. No.

14. Yes, a tourist-type tomahawk but the kids don't play with it.

Question 2: Do you have any make believe tomahawks, hatchets or Indian figures?

1. No.

2. No.

3. Yes, an Indian doll made by Indians bought at Glacier Park.

4. Yes, an Indian figurine from a trading post that my grandmother gave me when I was little which I kept.

5. Yes, a tomahawk from Mille Lacs and an Indian doll that belonged to me when I was little.

6. No.

7. No.

8. No.

9. No.

10. An eskimo doll.

11. No.

12. No.

13. Yes, a Peruvian figure.

14. Yes, the kids have made headdresses.

Question 3: Do you have any stories about contemporary Indians among the literature which you read to your child?

1. No.

2. No, not yet.

3. No, outside of books from the library for my older child.

4. No, except some photographs of Blackfeet in traditional costume in Holling's book The Book of Indians.

5. No.

6. No.

7. No.

8. Not yet, but I will.

9. No.

10. No.

11. No.

12. Yes, in Childcraft books (an e. .yclopedic reference)

13. No.

14. No.

Question 4: Do you have any coloring books, reading books that depict the Indian (in war dress)?

1. No.

2. Yes, story books with Indian figures in the background.

3. Yes, coloring books.

4. Yes, coloring books which I try to stay away from because they stifle creativity.

5. Yes, coloring books.

6. I don't think so unless in one page on a coloring book.

7. I don't think so unless in coloring books. I'd have to look through them.

8. Yes, Nancy Larrick's First ABC and Art Seiden's Counting Rhyme.

9. Yes, Kathryn Hitte's The Golden Shoe Book.

10. Yes, Choo-Choo Charlie and a couple of ABC's.

11. No.

12. Not that I can think of, but coloring books may have some.

13. No.

14. I wouldn't be surprised if they were in coloring books. We have The Little Cowboy.

Question 5: Are any of your children's clothing decorated with Indian figures?

1 through 14 responded simply no.

Question 5A: Has your child seen television programs where the Indian image is presented? What are they?

1. I assume some things that are on in the evening like Westerns.

2. Nothing that he really watches.

3. Yes, westerns the older kids watch.

4. Yes, although we restrict cowboy pictures.

5. No.

6. I don't know.

7. Yes, Sesame Street, Saturday morning cartoons.

8. Yes, Sesame Street.

9. Yes, Sesame Street.

10. Yes, I'm sure they have.

11. Yes, I'm sure they have in cartoons.

12. Yes, children are greatly influenced by the box.

13. No.

14. Yes, cartoons, one cookie commercial in which an Indian throws a tomahawk into a post and it turns into a cookie and a Casey Jones cartoon in which Indians were babbling and had buck teeth.

Question 6: Do you think your child has an image of the Indian? What is it? Does he or she know any Indians? Where do you feel this image has been created?

1. She came home from nursery school with a girl from India. She associated her with living in a tipi. I explained to her that Indians don't live in tipis. It's hard to know what kids know or think until they say something. She got it from TV probably. But, last year the nursery school took a trip to a museum after spending about a week working on different things learning about Indian life. I don't know if it could have carried over from that or not. (age 5)

2. He makes associations with guns. I don't know where he got it. He knows one Indian family but doesn't know they're Indian. (age 2 1/2)

3. She says woo woo (war whoops). She learned it from me. She knows no Indians. (age 2 1/2)

4. Yes. I'm afraid she associates Indians with war and tomahawks and cowboys and Indians. She knows an Indian girl in nursery school but doesn't know she's Indian. She may have learned it on TV. (age 4)

5. No. No. (age 2).

6. No. No. (age 4)

7. She may have now because we recently went to a trading post near Minaqua, Wisconsin called "The Warbonnet." She was especially interested in the store which was in the shape of a tipi. She looked at the figures and beads and animals. (age 2 1/2)

8. No. No. (age 2)

9. Yes. When she was two years old, she made associations between pictures of an Indian chief and his horse and drums and drumbeats. There was apparently little input at this young age to get this reaction from her. A specific incident - she was beating a plastic-topped coffee can with a wooden stick and commented, "Indian, Mom". I don't know where it came from. (age 2 1/2)

10. Yes, she thinks he's a dancer and wears feathers. When her younger brother had a cowlick in his hair, she said he looked like an Indian. It's not a negative image but it's not complete. The children saw a powwow at Walker. It's not the best image. I'm not sure what the children see - probably just a dancer. She met some Indians at Pipestone National Monument and was surprised the young girl behind the counter was Indian because she had no feathers. Her image was probably created through powwows, TV, cartoons and conversations. (age 3 1/2).

11. Yes. She thinks our Indian cleaning lady is a regular person. We've talked about it a lot because we have an Indian cleaning lady and last year in nursery school, there were a series of talks including some stereotypical versions of the Indian. I explained to her about the difference between history and now. She spoke out in nursery school against the teacher's remarks and the teacher admitted she was right. (age 4 1/2)

12. No, he met a little girl but he doesn't know the difference (age 2)

13. Yes. She recognizes pictures in magazines of Indians. She thinks they're people with feathers. She knows none. Her image is probably from a book, coloring books, TV and other programs her older brothers watch like The Outlaw and The Wild Wild West.

Question 7: In your opinion, is a positive image of the Indian encouraged at home? In what ways?

1. No image. The subject never comes up. If it comes up, it would be positive.

2. Yes, it will be. I would talk about Indians in the same light as any person different from himself. I would stress more similarities than differences.

3. Yes, with the older children, but with a preschooler it hasn't come up. We saw a roadsign that used the expression "Indian Deal". We had a discussion about it.

4. Yes, at home but not at school.

5. No image, if it were discussed it would be positive.

6. The subject doesn't come up.

7. In our home, yes, because I had an Indian great-grandmother. When it comes up in conversation, I explain our heritage. There's no big deal made about it. All people are alike.

8. Yes it will be. They're human beings and they're Americans and they should be treated like everyone else.

9. Yes, nothing is being said.

10. Yes, we don't make Indian jokes. We emphasized the peace pipes not the war bonnets at Pipestone. We saw the slide show dances and ceremonials and talked about them.

11. Yes.

12. Not overly so. Not negative but not positive.

13. No image. No discussion.

14. No image has been encouraged other than extraneously.

Question 8: Have you a particular image of positive and/or negative qualities of the American Indian? What are they?

1. I don't think of them negatively. They're just like anybody else. I don't single them out.

2. The positive image reminds me of their artwork. A negative image could be han ing around on Franklin Avenue probably as a result of circumstances. They have a different way of life - close yet far.

3. My image is of a poor person who has been stomped on and neglected. I know one Indian who was my cleaning lady. She was nice but she had a hard life - someone who had to work under great odds.

4. I view the Indian similarly to people in general who have many differences and some similarities. As we all embody negative characteristics we also all embody positive characteristics.

5. They've been mistreated. They 've had land taken away. It's a raw deal situation. I've had ideas thrown at me that they drink a lot and are lazy. This is a Minnesota-born attitude instilled in me.

6. I don't have any specific positive images but negative feelings are of the irresponsible male.

7. If I were to believe what I see and read, I would think negatively. But, I was taught as a child differently. My image became negative when we moved to Minnesota.

8. Positive images are of a close feeling in the family; they are protective of one another. This is positive except in our society they take others into the home. Negative images are of reservation influences in that they have lost their sense of respect for themselves and can become irresponsible.

9. Negative images are of older Indians who drink and just sit and don't talk. Positive images are that they have gotten a rotten deal. They need more programs. I don't know the answer. They need more say in their own affairs.

10.. Being ignorant of twentieth century Indians, in Montana, I was surprised and disappointed that they weren't as noble as I though they'd be. I have positive feelings about what should be done, but I also realize Indians have to be careful when they drink.

11. Positive feelings are my feelings of guilt and regret that a poor image is fostered and that questions like these have to be asked in this day and age.

12. A little of both. Positive: I had a lovely cleaning woman who was just a human being concerned about her children. Negative: the inability to pick themselves up out of poverty.

13. Today, I have an image of a minority figure who is suffering from problems. As a younster, I had an image of cowboys and Indians. I read the book Geronimo. Once I had read it, I had a different picture other than of Indians attacking the fort. Also when I learned about Jim Thorpe.

14. It's a vast area. I read the recent article in Look. Positive feelings are that they are potential citizens who have been dealt a dirty blow. Negative: I would hesitate to say. I would have to know Indians. I don't know any.

Question 9: Do you think a specific image of the Indian should be fostered in the home?

1. There is no reason for fostering an image. It is a good idea but would have to be actively pursued. It is not a normal topic of conversation. It depends on the environment. If we were living in Devil's Lake, North Dakota, then the subject might come up, but it doesn't here.

2. If an encounter with an Indian child were made or we could get books in the library that give a realistic image of the Indian.

3. No.

4. When effort is made to foster a particular image, a child is becoming socialized. He should learn about all people.

5. That depends on if Indians will emerge in society. If the Indians will retain their own identity, then it shouldn't be fostered. If they want to assimilate, the subject shouldn't come up.

6. It is not necessary unless it comes up. But we wouldn't foster a negative image.

7. Yes, just as it should be with all people. It is crucial to be taught in all homes just as for Negroes, Japanese, etc. Traditions are precious but they're still people like everyone else.

8. It shouldn't be dwelled on, but a little bit should be explained, not pointed out and separated. Historical heritage also should be taught. But I want her to accept them as human beings.

9. Yes. Racial differences have to be taught like anything else. But what is good about differences not what is bad. To teach nothing is to deny the fact that we are different.

10. The truth should be fostered in the home. Not an old-fashioned picture, not riding the range.

11. Yes. One that depicts them as people with the same right to everything as we do.

12. No, just as people who have needs.

13. If I would encounter an Indian, I would foster a positive image.

14. No, a cultural image fostered in a good light but not as a specific race.

Question 10: At what age or level do you think children begin developing racial stereotypes?

1. I don't have the faintest idea.

2. I'll bet as early as four or five.

3. Between six and eight.

4. From birth and the time they become aware of stereotypes. All people have stereotypes at one point in their development but some people become fixated at that level.

5. Four or five, when they begin to realize there's a difference.

6. My eight year old doesn't have any.

7. One year old. At eighteen months it emerges. At two or two and a half. At a young age.

8. Parents develop them for them. Kindergarteners. As soon as they can mimic what their parents do.

9. The very young. It must come through the mass media. Even in the best of situations, children pick it up. At seven weeks, a friend from India came to stay with us. My daughter seemed quieter and more in awe. She also acted that way with our African friend. She liked them but was more reserved.

10. At birth.

11. Four years old.

12. Very young, but until they talk it's difficult to know when that occurs.

13. By two years old, as soon as they're verbal.

14. It depends on the environment. Three or four? Decisions are made about people by the third or fourth grade.

APPENDIX B

Questions for teachers of nursery school:

1. How do you deal with the subject of Indians in your classroom?

2. Do you have a play at Thanksgiving time?

3. Do you have Indian costumes among the children's toys?

4. Do you have make believe tomahawks, hatchets or warbonnets?

5. Do you have any stories about contemporary Indians among the literature which you read to your children?

6. Do you have any coloring books or reading books that depict the Indian (in war dress)?

7. Do you think the children you teach have an image of the Indian?

8. Are there any Indian children in your classes?

9. Have you a particular image of positive and/or negative qualities of the American Indian? What are they?

10. At what age level do you think children begin developing a stereotype?

Full Responses of One Teacher:

1. We talk about the Indians as "having been here in conjunction with Thanksgiving when the white man came over, the Indians were here. A preschool child cannot differentiate between history and the present. He has only the historical concept of what an Indian is. He thinks the Indian is that and not someone who looks the same or dresses the same way we do. He has no concept of a long long time ago. Recently, I've tried to eliminate the subject entirely especially the discussion of what Indians are. The subject is very difficult.

2. No.

3. A cowboy suit.

4. No, but they can make feathers.

5. No.

6. Not at school. There aren't any great ones.

7. Yes. They come to school with an image. They range in age from three to five. The majority do have an image, probably learned through television and coloring books.

8. No.

9. As I was growing up close to Cass Lake, I felt sorry for them living in a way they should not have to - drinking and fighting on the part of Indians got in the papers but not on the part of whites. In Canada, it was the same thing. They're all the same to me. I don't see any differences. I have no prejudices toward them or anybody.

10. Very young. As soon as they are looking at television and hearing it. At two years.

Full Responses of Another Teacher:

1. At Thanksgiving time, I have a lot of pictures of Indians as they live today up around the room. I got them a few years ago from the Twin Citian Magazine. I also put up pictures of Indians as they dressed then and pilgrims as they dressed and whites as they dress today. We talk to them making free associations and ask them images and then tell them as it is. The photographs are nice, but the poverty is obvious. I don't know how much it does. I read them some Ojibway poetry and have talked about powwows as kinds of parties which are the occasions at which they dress with feathers, etc., as I try to help them understand how they dress today as well.

2. No.

3. No, except what the kids wear themselves at Halloween.

4. No.

5. I don't know of any. We have set up hogans and other Indians' dwellings.

6. I do get books from the library - mostly they're about Indians as they used to be which reinforce the stereotype.

7. Oh yes, the kind that they see on TV - They've said things like "The Indians are bad." I remember when I was librarian at Kenwood, two Indian children were awfully uncomfortable every year at Thanksgiving time when it came up.

8. No.

9. Both, a few months ago, there was an Indian man on TV who had written a book. There are times I feel ashamed of being a white man as he has taken away their sense of pride in a people who have their own culture. But, an editorial in the Star once mentioned the "passive qualities" and contrasted those qualities with what they termed a "new activism." I'm cheering them on. I'd like to have a group of Indian children come to our nursery school if I could arrange it appropriately without making it obvious or awkward.

10. They did at three. That's as young as I've had them. They think of Indians with feathers and making war whoops.

APPENDIX C

Select Annotated Bibliography for Preschool Children (Ages 2-5) on the Subject of American Indians

Abisch, Roz. 'Twas the Moon of Wintertime: The First American Christmas Carol, ill. Boche Kaplan. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

"A picture book adaptation of a carole celebrating the birth of Christ written for the Huron Indians in terms of their culture and language and set to an Old French folk song. Simple text with colored illustrations. Musical accompaniment with words in English and Huron..." Age 4 and up.

Amon, ALine. Talking Hands. New York: Doubleday, 1968.

Introduces children to sign language through the use of attractive colored illustrations. Age 4 and up.

Baker, Betty. Little Runner of the Longhouse. New York: Harper, 1962.

"A combination of small-child play and a background of Iroquois Indian life." Age 5 and up.

Belting, Natalia M. The Long-Tailed Bear and Other Legends. ill. Louis F. Cary. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1961.

Short legends from the traditions of many American Indian tribes. Sparingly illustrated. Ages 2 1/2 and up.

Beyer, Ernestine C. Story of Little Big. ill. Vee Guthrie. New York: Reilly, 1962.

A simple story about a little Indian boy looking for a playmate. Age 4 and up.

Bleeker, Sonia. The Apache Indians: Riders of the Southwest. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1951.

_____. The Aztec: Indians of Mexico. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1963.

_____. The Cherokee: Indians of the Mountains. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1952.

_____. The Chippewa Indians: Rice Gatherers of the Great Lakes. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1955.

_____. The Crow Indians: Hunters of the Northern Plains. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1953.

_____. The Delaware Indians: Eastern Fisherman and Farmers. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1953.

_____. Eskimo: Arctic Hunters and Trappers. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1959.

_____. Horseman of the Plains. New York: William Morrow and Company, No date available.

_____. Horseman of the Western Plateaus: The Nez Perce Indians. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1957.

_____. Inca: Indians of the Andes. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1960.

_____. Indians of the Longhouse: The Story of the Iroquois. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1950.

_____. Maya: Indians of Central America. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1961.

_____. The Mission Indians of California. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1956.

_____. The Navajo: Herders, Weavers and Silversmiths. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1958.

_____. The Pueblo Indians: Farmers of the Rio Grande. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1955.

_____. The Sea Hunters: Indians of the Northwest Coast. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1951.

_____. The Seminole Indians. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1954.

_____. The Sioux Indians: Hunters and Warriors of the Plains. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1962.

Brock, Emma L. One Little Indian Boy. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1932.

The story of a small Pueblo boy and his life today, including his purchase of five lollipops from a fat storekeeper, whitewashing, hoeing, grinding corn and singing songs. There is even a dog named 'Lean Old Hound,' sunning itself by the mission. Age 3 and up.

Callaway, Sydney M. Grandfather Stories of the Navahos. Published by the Board of Education, Rough Rock Demonstration School, The Navajo Curriculum Center, Rough Rock, Arizona, ill. Hoke Denetsosie and Clifford Beck, Jr., 1968.

Rough Rock Demonstration School publishes a few small books written and designed by and for Navaho children. They are well illustrated and can be enjoyed by children of all kinds. Age 3 and up.

Chafetz, Henry. Thunderbird and Other Stories. ill. by Ronni Solbert, New York: Random House, 1964.

Three legends artistically presented on a background of soft brown paper interspersed with geometric designs of Indian styles. Age 4 and up.

Clark, Ann Nolan. Along Sandy Trails. photographs by Alfred A. Cohn, New York: The Viking Press, 1969.

The story of a young Papago Indian girl and her grandmother. Accompanied by magnificent color photographs of animals, desert flowers and the child and her grandmother. Highly recommended. Age 2 and up.

_____. In My Mother's House. ill. Belina Herrara, New York: The Viking Press, 1941.

Short prose poems illustrated throughout in multi-colored drawings. Story of life and customs among the Tewa Indians. Age 2 and up.

_____. The Desert People. ill. Allan Houser, New York: The Viking Press, 1962.

A series of rhythmic prose poems about Indians of the Southwest. Pastel illustrations. Age 3 and up.

_____. The Little Indian Pottery Maker. ill. Don Perceval, Chicago: Melmont Publishers, 1955.

A story about a little Pueblo Indian girl and how she learns the techniques of making pottery from her mother. Age 3 and up.

_____. This for That. ill. Don Freeman, San Carlos, Calif: Golden Gate, 1965.
Story of a Papago grandfather and his grandson. Age 3 and up.

Corcos, Lucille. From Ungskah 1 to Oyaylee 10. New York: Pantheon, 1965.

Highly colored illustrations and simple text which presents picture writing and counting from one to ten in Mohawk language. Age 3 and up.

Cowell, Vi. Normie's Moose Hunt. Wisconsin: E.M. Hale and Company, 1968.

Story of a contemporary Cree boy who goes on a moose hunt with his family in Canada. The family uses modern equipment such as a gun, an outboard motorboat and a tent. Age 4 and up.

Ewkabi Indian Books

Factually authentic; illustrations and short seven page text to be colored and painted. 50¢ a piece or complete set of eight books at $3.75. Order through Grey Owl Catalogue, Grey Owl Indian Craft Manufacturing Company, 150-152 Beaver Road, Jamaica, New York 11433.

E-Yeh Shure, I Am A Pueblo Indian Girl, with an introduction by Oliver La Farge, Wisconsin: E.M. Hale and Company, 1939.

A young Pueblo girl tells of her world in a pueblo village in simple language appealing to age 2 and up.

Fenton, Carroll L. and Alice Epstein. Cliff Dwellers of Walnut Canyon, ill. Albert Orbaan and Carroll L. Fenton, New York: The John Day Company, 1960.

One page prose poems describing various aspects of life among cliff dwelling Indians in America. Full page black and white illustrations. Age 2 and up.

Floethe, Louis Lee, The Indian and His Pueblo, with pictures by Richard Floethe, New York: Charles Scribner's Song, 1960.

A thirteen page story about Indians and the life in a Pueblo village. Illustrated in colorful tones of pinks, blues, reds and yellows. Age 4 and up.

Gridley, Marion E. Indian Legends of American Scenes, initial letters by Chief Whirling Thunder, Chicago: M.A. Donahue and Co., 1939.

One to two page stories about Indians of various regions in America. Realistic line drawing illustrations. Age 2 1/2 and up.

Israel, Marion. Ojibway. Chicago: Melmont Publishers, 1962.

Simple text of Chippewa life and customs. Age 5 and up.

James, Harry C. A Day with Honau, A Hopi Indian Boy, ill. Don Perceval, Chicago:: Melmont Publishers, 1957.

Two to five page stories about the life of a small Hopi Indian boy. Ill. throughout in brown, black and white. Age 3 and up.

James, Harry C. A Day with Poli, A Hopi Indian Girl, ill, by Don Perceval, California: Melmont Publishers, 1957.

Two page stories about the life of a small Hopi Indian child. Illustrated throughout in brown, black and white. Age 2 and up.

LaFarge, Oliver. The American Indian, special edition for young readers, New York: Golden Press, 1960.

A comprehensive source of information about the historical as well as contemporary aspects of American Indian culture. The text is designed for elementary school readers but the photographs and illustrations are highly colored and would be a source of interest to preschool children from age 2 1/2.

Leavitt, Dr. Jerome E. America and Its Indians, ill, by Robert Glaubke, Chicago: Children's Press, 1962.

A factual presentation of various American Indian tribal groups. Illustrated with page illustrations in vivid colors. Age 5 and up.

Machetanz, Frederick. Panuck the Eskimo Sled Dog. New York: Scribners, 1939.

Story of a dog and life among the Eskimos. Age 4 and up.

Matson, Emerson N. Longhouse Legends, ill. Lorence Bjorklund, New Jersey: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1968.

Five page legends of the Pacific Northwest Coast Indians. Told in Simple language.

Palmer, William R. Why the North Star Stands Still and Other Indian Legends, ill. Ursula Kpering, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946.

Pahute Indian legends about the origin of many living things. Sparingly illustrated with brown sketches of animals. Age 4 and up.

Phillips, W.S. Indian Campfire Tales, New York: Platt and Munk, 1963.

Legends of adventure and magic in the Indian tradition of story-telling. Age 4 and up.

Pine, Tillie S. The Indians Knew, ill. Ezra Keats, New York: McGraw, 1957.

Beautifully illustrated protrayal of Indian customs which are the base of American life today. Credits Indians with many scientific and other kinds of discoveries. Age 3 and up.

Raskin, Joseph and Edith. Indian Tales, ill. Helen Siegle, New York: Random House, 1969.

Three to six page legends with green, black and white woodcut drawings. Age 4 and up.

Scheer, George F. Cherokee Animal Tales, ill. Robert Frankenberg, New York: Holiday House, Inc,, 1968.

Three page tales of legends about animals told in a hunorous style appealing to children of age 3 and up.

Records:

The Pueblo Indians: Story, Song and Dance, told and sung by Swift Eagle, Folkway Record.

Includes Kuo-Haya, the Bear Boy; Hunting the Fox, The Laughing Horse; The Buffalo Dance; Story-Teller Song; Green Corn Dance; Medicine Man Chants. Can be ordered through Grey Owl, Indian Craft, Manufacturing Company, 150-152 Beaver Road, Jamaica, New York, 11433. $5.95.

Photographs:

Indian and Eskimo Children, can be ordered from Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., 20402. 35¢.

"A collection of captioned photographs designed to explain today's Indian and Eskimo children to non-Indian youngsters preschool and lower elementary level.

Vizenor, Gerald, "Viewpoint: The Urban Indian," Twin Citian Magazine, June, 1966.

This article includes a photograph of an Indian boy holding a bottle of pop, carrying a sign (picket). It can be photostated through Twin Citian Magazine at 790 Cleveland Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota, 690-2466.

Vizenor, Gerald, "The Indian in Minnesota: What is an Indian? The Ojibways. I Wonder What We Look Like? The Powwow. Acculturation." Photographs by Jay Hines. Twin Citian Magazine, May, 1966.

Contains an essay and a good collection of photographs of Indians taken during everyday life. It can be photostated through Twin Citian Magazine at 790 Cleveland Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota, 690-2466.

APPENDIX D

Select Bibliography of Background Reading*

Allport, G.W., The ABC's of Scapegoating, Chicago: Central YMCA College, 1944.

Clark, Kenneth B., Prejudice and Your Child, Boston: Beacon Press, 1963.

Holt, John, How Children Learn, New York: Pitman, 1969.

Goodman, Mary Ellen, Race Awareness in Young Children, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1952.

Josselyn, Irene M., Psychosocial Development of Children, U.S.A. Family Service Association of America, 1948.

Skinner, Charles E., editor, Readings in Educational Psychology, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937.

Trager, H.G. and Yarrow, M.R., They Learn What They Live; Prejudice in Young Children, New York: Harper, 1952.

* Author's note: This bibliography is admittedly brief. However, it is thought that the nature of the paper as an analytic survey of momentary factors involved in the development of stereotypes did not merit more research. My background in educational and child psychology is sufficient to warrant the one assumption made throughout - that a preschool child's attitudes are shaped by his experiences.